

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

7.]

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded between the French Republic and the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

His Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, being desirous to consolidate a peace, the basis of which was laid in the preliminaries signed at the castle of Enwald, near Leoben, in Styria, on the 1st of April, 1797 (the 29th Germinal, year of the French republic, one and visible,) have named for their plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the Emperor King, the Sieur D. Martius Mastrily, the noble Neapolitan Patrician, Marquis de Gallo, knight of the royal order of Lanuarius, gentleman of the bed-chamber to his Majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, his ambassador extraordinary at the court of Vienna; the Sieur Louis, Count of the holy Roman Empire de Cobenzel, great cross of the royal order of St. Stephen, chamberlain, privy counsellor of his Imperial and royal Apostolic Majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary to his imperial Majesty of all the Russian dominions, the Sieur Maximilian, Count de Werveldt, knight of the Teutonic order, of the military order of Maria Theresa, chamberlain and major-general of the cavalry in the armies of his said Majesty the Emperor and King; and the Sieur Ignatius, Baron de Degelmann, minister plenipotentiary of his said Majesty to the Swiss republic.—And the French republic, Buonaparte, commander in chief of the French army in Italy, the aforesaid plenipotentiaries, after an exchange of their respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. There shall be hereafter a solid, just, and inviolable peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, his heirs and successors, and the French republic.

The contracting parties shall give the best attention to the maintaining between themselves and their respective dominions the most perfect harmony, without either permitting, on either side, any of hostilities to be committed, either by

sea or land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever; and they shall carefully avoid for the future any thing which might prejudice the union happily established. There shall not be granted any succour or protection, either directly or indirectly, to those who shall attempt any thing injurious or prejudicial against either of the contracting parties.

II. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, the contracting parties shall take of all sequestrations imposed on the effects, rights and properties of individuals residing in the respective territories and countries that are united to them, and also of the public establishments situated therein; they bind themselves to pay all the debts they may have contracted for pecuniary advances made to them by the said individuals and public establishments, and to discharge or reimburse all the annuities settled to their advantage by each of the contracting parties. The present article is declared to extend to the Cisalpine republic.

III. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for himself and his successors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the ci-devant Austrian Netherlands.—The French republic shall enter on the perpetual possession of these countries, in full right and sovereignty, and on all the territorial possessions dependent thereon.

IV. All debts mortgaged before the war, on the land of the countries expressed in the preceding articles, and which mortgages shall have been drawn up with the usual formalities, shall be discharged by the French republic.—The plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall transmit a statement of them as soon as possible to the plenipotentiary of the French republic, and previous to the exchange of the ratifications, to the end that at the time of this exchange, the plenipotentiaries of both powers may come to an agreement upon all the explanatory and additional articles of the present treaty, and sign them.

V. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the French republic shall possess in full sove-

reignty the ci-devant Venetian islands of the Levant, viz. Corfou, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo and other islands dependent thereon, together with Butrinto, Larta, Vouizza, and in general all the ci-devant Venetian establishments in Albania, which are situate lower down than the Gulf of Ladrino.

VI. The French republic consents that his Majesty the Emperor, and King shall possess in full sovereignty the countries herein-after mentioned, viz. Istria, Dalmatia, the ci-devant Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Castaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian canals, and the countries that lie between the hereditary states of his Majesty the Emperor and King, the Adriatic sea, and the line to be drawn from the Tyrol along the torrent before Gardola, stretching across the Lake Garda, as far as Lacisa; from thence a military line shall be drawn to Sangiacoma, holding out an equal advantage to both parties, which line shall be traced out by engineer officers appointed on either side, previous to the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The line or limitation shall then pass the Adige to Sangiacomo, running along the left bank of that river to the mouth of the Canalblanc, comprising in that part of Porto Legnago that lies on the right side of the Adige, together with a district of 3000 toises. The line shall be continued along the left bank of the Canalblanc, the left bank of the Tartaro, the left bank of the canal called the Polisella, to where it empties itself into the Po, and along the left bank of the great Po as far as the sea.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for ever, in his own name, and in that of his successors, &c. in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all the rights and titles arising from these rights, which his said Majesty might pretend to have over these countries before the war, and which countries at present constitute a part of the Cisalpine republic, which republic shall possess them in their full right and sovereignty, together with all their territorial dependencies.

VIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, acknowledges the Cisalpine republic as an independent power. This republic comprises the ci-devant Austrian Lombard, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, part of the ci-devant Venetian states to the east and south of the Lagona, described in the 6th article as a number of the states of his Majesty

the Emperor, in Italy; the Modenese, the principality of Massa, and of Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna.

IX. In all countries ceded, acquired, or all exchanged, in virtue of the present treaty, sequestrations imposed on the effects, right and property of individuals belonging to these countries, shall be taken off, which individuals shall have been thus affected on account of the war that has subsisted between his Imperial and royal Majesty and the French republic, nor shall they on the account be molested in their persons and property. Such persons as may hereafter be desirous to withdraw from the said countries, shall be bound to make a declaration of such their intention three months before the publication of the treaty or definitive peace. There shall be granted to them the term of three months to enable them to sell their effects either moveable or immoveable, and dispose of them in the manner they may judge most expedient.

X. The countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, by virtue of the present treaty, shall leave the debts mortgaged on their territories, to be discharged by those under whose dominion they may fall.

XI. The navigation of such rivers and canals as mark the boundaries between the possessions of his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and those of the French republic, shall be free, without its being permitted to either of the powers to establish any toll or custom on them, or keep thereon any armed vessel; by which, however, is not precluded any precaution which may be thought necessary for the protection and safety of the fortresses of Porto Legnago.

XII. All sales or alienations of property, all engagements entered into, either by the government or by the civil administrative authorities of the ci-devant Venetian territories, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, up to the date of the signature of the present treaty, shall be confirmed and acknowledged as valid.

XIII. The territorial titles and archives of the different countries ceded or exchanged by the present treaty, shall, within the two months from the date of the exchange of the ratification, be put into the hands of the powers which shall have acquired the property of them. The plans and maps of the fortresses, towns and countries, which the contracting powers acquired by the present treaty, shall be faithfully given to them. The military papers and registers taken

the present war from the état-major of the respective armies, shall be restored in the manner.

XIV. The two contracting parties, equally animated with the desire of removing every hindrance that might interrupt the good understanding happily established between them, mutually bind themselves in the most solemn manner to contribute to the utmost of their power to the maintenance of internal tranquillity in their respective states.

XV. There shall immediately be concluded a treaty of commerce, founded upon an equitable basis, and such as shall secure to His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary, and the French republic, advantages equal to those which the most favoured nations enjoy in their respective states. Meanwhile all communications and commercial relations shall be restored to the situation in which they stood before the

XVI. No inhabitant of all the countries occupied by the Austrian and French armies shall be prosecuted or questioned, either in his person or property, on account of his political opinions or his conduct, civil, military or commercial, during the war that has taken place between the two powers.

XVII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall not, agree to the principles of neutrality, admit any of his ports during the course of the present war, any vessels belonging to either of the belligerent powers.

XVIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, binds himself to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnification for the territory which that prince and his heirs possessed in Italy, the Brisgaw; which he shall possess upon the same conditions as those in virtue of which they possessed the Modenese.

XIX. The landed and personal property alienated, belonging to their royal highnesses the Archduke Charles and the Archduke Christiana, which are situated in countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored, under the deduction of expenses of sale, within three years.

The same shall be done relative to the landed and personal property of his royal highness the Archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

X. There shall be held a congress, composed of the plenipotentiaries of the Habsburg empire and the French republic, for the pacification between the two powers. The congress shall be opened a month

after the signing of the present treaty, or as soon as possible.

XXI. All the prisoners of war made on either side, and the hostages given or carried away during the present war, who have not yet been restored, shall be given back in forty days, dated from the day of the signing of the present treaty.

XXII. The warlike contributions, deliveries, furnishings, and devastations of every kind, which have taken place in the respective states of the contracting powers, shall cease from the day on which the ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged.

XXIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, shall mutually preserve to each other the same ceremonial with regard to rank and other etiquettes which was constantly observed before the war. His said Majesty and the Cisalpine republic shall observe with regard to each other the same ceremonial of etiquette which was in use between his Majesty and the republic of Venice.

XXIV. The present treaty shall be ratified by the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and by the French republic, within thirty days from this day, or sooner if possible, and the instruments of ratification in due form shall be exchanged at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, near Udina, the 17th October, 1797 (26th Vendémiaire, sixth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.)

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ,
The Marquis de GALLO,
LOUIS Count COBENTZEL,
The Count de MEERVELDT,
The Baron de DEGELMAN,

The Executive Directory ratifies and signs the present treaty of peace with His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Buonaparté, general in chief of the army of Italy, invested with powers by the Executive Directory, and charged with instructions to that effect.

Done in the national palace of the Executive Directory, 5th Brumaire, October 26th, sixth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

This treaty was ratified by the council of Five Hundred on the 31st October, and by the council of Elders two days after.

TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

It is now nearly six years; since I endeavoured to awaken you to a due sense of the danger, with which you were threatened by the projects, which France had conceived with respect to *Louisiana*. I do not think so poorly of myself, as to suppose that you have quite forgotten me and my prognostications; but, as I have not the vanity to hope, that, amidst the never-ceasing din of elections, you can have retained a perfect remembrance of any thing that I said so long ago as 1796, I will take the liberty to refresh your memories, by quoting a passage from the Political Censor* for the month of November of that year.

It is necessary, perhaps, to remind you, that, at the epoch, of which I am now speaking, the French minister, Adet, had just published for your perusal, a very insolent state paper, which he had, a few days before, addressed to your government. To this paper my Censor for November 1796 was an answer. In the course of this answer, or rather at the conclusion of it, I endeavoured to expose the hostile views of France, and to convince you, that *Louisiana* was, even at that moment, ceded by Spain to France, in a secret article of the treaty of Basle, of the conclusion of which we had, but a few months before, received an account. On this subject I made the following observations:

“ However, though I am certain that the French will not go to war with America, I am as certain that America must soon go to war with them.—Let not the reader start. He must accustom himself to think and to talk on the subject, and the sooner he begins the better. I am not foretelling the day of judgment nor a second deluge; but am speaking of an object that may be looked at with calmness, as I make no doubt it will be encountered with success.

“ There is every reason to believe (indeed, with me the fact is certain), that Spain has ceded *Louisiana* to France. This will put the French in possession of all our western frontier, give them the free navigation of the Mississippi; and then I beg any one to cast his eye over the map of the United States, and see the exposed situation in which they will be placed.

“ France has had this in contemplation ever since the peace of 1783. The King of Spain can refuse the French

nothing, or he certainly would not have entered into a league with the murderer of the head of his family, and have supplied atheists with troops to carry on a marauding war on the Catholic States of Italy, and the defenceless head of the church.

“ The French, once in possession of Louisiana, will give law to the Mississippi, and when we consider the prevalent spirit and politics of the western people in general, the distance they are at from the seat of government, and the seductive arts of their new neighbours, there is little reason to hope, that they will long remain obedient to the United States. The new inhabitants of Louisiana will be made up of the profligate French soldiery, who will be prevailed on by splendid promises to transport themselves to this country, but who will be fit for nothing but pillage and war.

“ Ever since the peace of 1783, France has beheld the commerce, carried on between America and Great-Britain, with a watchful, jealous, and envious eye. At first she endeavoured to turn the channel towards herself; but that having failed, she fell on the plan of subjugation. A French writer in treating of this subject observes, that ‘ it would be a balance against the loans of England to the Atlantic merchants.’ By loans he means the credit given by the British merchants, and which is indeed a mine of gold to the farmers and merchants of America. There is something really diabolical in this envy. They would sooner the country should be torn to pieces than it should trade with their rival.

“ They well know, that there is but one check to their ambitious projects; and that is, an alliance offensive and defensive between Great-Britain and America. They know, that by such an alliance they would be deprived of all their possessions in the West-Indies, and would be excluded from the Atlantic seas. This alliance once formed, America might forbid them to set a foot in *Louisiana*, or might drive them and their ‘ natural allies,’ the Spaniards, into the Gulf of Mexico. It is with the consciousness of this on their minds, that they have been so sedulous in forming a faction to oppose every accommodating step, and every advance towards friendship, between the two countries.

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They have the Machiavelian maxim, 'divide and you govern,' continually in their eye. They wish to keep them asunder, that they may devour them one at a time.

The most disagreeable circumstance present, is, *this cession of Louisiana will be perfectly ascertained, till after the general peace*; so that, though Great Britain is nearly as much interested in the event as America, she can take no steps to prevent it, because she will be informed before it be known; and their myrmidons will be in possession of their promised land, before any measures of prevention can be adopted on the part of America."

When I told you these things, when I brought you to erect an insurmountable and everlasting barrier against these insidious and ferocious invaders, some of you turned a deaf ear to my intreaties, which your jealousy led you to ascribe to the gold of the British minister, who, you foolishly imagined, had hired my pen for the purpose of urging you to join him in war against your "sister republic."

that minister, unfortunately for your country and for his, harboured no such ; if he had, I scruple not to say, that could soon have been accomplished ; that the situation of the world, would, his day, have been very different from it is. Far be it from me to insinuate that you could have been led into war by the means of corruption ; and still less inclined to suppose, that you d have been deceived into that, or any other, measure of importance. No ; but I am fully persuaded, indeed I know, that e was a time, when your government erely wished to embark in the war, that this wish corresponded with that vast majority of those, whose influ- in the country had theretofore al- s carried the decision in their favour. men of property, all honest, orderly, religious men, dreaded the success of Republic of France ; because they fore- that that success would finally pro- the same mischiefs in America, which, far as it had reached, it had already uced in Europe. To have formed that nsive and offensive alliance, the poli- and necessity of which I urged with my feeble powers, there wanted nothing the hearty good will of this cabinet, nging but that mortal hatred of the re- des and that resolution to kill them, o be killed by them, which were so-

necessary for a British minister to entertain, but which were, I am afraid, never entertained by Mr. Pitt.

It is, however, useless to talk of what might have been done. The regicide peace is made, and Louisiana is ceded to France, whose well-fleshed blood-hounds will be howling round the skirts of your naked plantations before you have time to collect the means of resistance. Think them not ignorant of any part, spot, property, or circumstance, of the territory, which they are about to possess. There is not a river, a creek, a cove, an inlet, not a hill nor a dale, nor a rock nor a cave, of which they do not know the bearings and the dimensions as well as I know the width and the length of the paper, on which I am now writing. They have calculated, to a pound of gun-powder and to a drop of blood, the means of severing from your authority the states of Kentucky and Tennessee ; and, remember, that I, whose voice you refused to listen to in 1796, now tell you, that, unless you give up to them a great portion of your commerce with England, those states will, in less than two years, be attached to the Republic of France. You have no earthly means of defence. Not that you are desti- tute of money or of men ; but who will you find to march five hundred miles across a wilderness, to meet, at the end of their route, the murderers of Alexandria and Acre, backed with the very settlers, whom you wish to preserve from their grasp?

By your treaty with Spain, you obtained the free navigation of the Mississippi. This freedom you have now to obtain from France ; and, be you well assured, that she will not grant it without an equivalent. What this equivalent may be, it is im- possible for me precisely to point out ; but, be it what it may, you must yield it, or yield your hopes to retain the dominion of the western states, which would be instantly ruined by the closing of the Mis- sissippi, and which, to avoid that ruin, would transfer their allegiance to the power, on whose pleasure their prosperity will solely depend.

One of the reasons, long ago given by French politicians, for obtaining possession of Louisiana, was, to secure a certain and never-failing supply of provisions and lumber for their West-India colonies ; and, as they will find these articles in abundance in Kentucky and Tennessee, at a much cheaper rate than in the Atlantic states, it is more than probable, that they will pre-

fer the taking possession of settlements already formed to the forming of settlements for themselves, which requires that sort of industry and perseverance, for the practice of which they are disposed neither by their nature nor their habits. If they should determine on this, the ground of your present complaint, of a too widely-extended territory, will, in part, be removed; but, wide as is the wilderness that divides you from Kentucky, you will soon find yourselves too near to your neighbours. You have, it is true, neither pictures nor statues for them to steal, but, the moment they are told, that there are ten thousand bags of dollars in the bank of Philadelphia, that moment must you resolve to kill them on the way, or quietly to yield your throats to their knives.

There are some persons here, who imagine, that the danger, to which the cession of Louisiana will expose you, will tend to bind you more firmly to Great-Britain; and, indeed, the separation of the western states, might produce this effect; but, you will endeavour to prevent this separation, which you can by no means do, except by purchasing the forbearance of France, which is to be done by nothing short of measures hostile to the commerce and manufactures of Great-Britain. Were the possession of Louisiana like that of Canada, which merely places a foreign power on your frontier, without giving him the command of any one out-let to the produce of your lands, then, indeed, the influence, which such possession would give to France, would not be of a nature so alarming. It is not merely an ambitious and bloody-minded neighbour that you are about to receive on your continent, but one who, by having the complete command of the Mississippi, will become, at once, the absolute master of a tenth part of your population. This is the distinction between the possession of Canada and that of Louisiana: the command of the St. Lawrence can never be made use of to your injury, because that river furnishes a channel of conveyance to no part of your produce; whereas, the produce of two of your states have no other out-let than the river Mississippi. So clearly are these truths perceived by all those, who have property in Kentucky or Tennessee, that, I am persuaded, the lands, in those states, will, upon the arrival of the news of the cession to France, immediately experience a very great depreciation in value. The insolent demands of the French your go-

vernment will, probably, resist for a time; but the clamours of the western settlers and proprietors, joined to the intrigues of the French minister and his faction, will, at last, get the better of resistance, and will impose upon the Atlantic states whatever commercial regulations may be dictated by the interest, the rapacity, and vindictiveness of France.

Wm. COBBETT.

Pall Mall, 2d March, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

I request the favour of your attention to the bill lately introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Vansittart under the title *I believe* of the *American Treaty Bill*, the second reading of which has been postponed on the motion of General Gascoigne, one of the members for Liverpool, in consequence of the shortness of the time allowed to investigate its tendency and effect on the shipping interest and commerce of Great-Britain, which at present is in so perilous a situation as to require all the vigilance and care which a wise government can bestow upon it.

The advantages which the *American ship* have obtained* and are obtaining from the *yielding influence* which pervades the British government at this time are too sensibly felt by you to need being particularly pointed out by me, yet your observations on its evil tendency may perhaps induce those persons to whom its administration is intrusted to look with a more wary eye to the dearest interest of Britain, its carrying trade, which from a concatenation of recent events is more rapidly declining than it ever increased under the strictest adherence to the spirit of those navigation laws which have hitherto contributed to raise this country to that proud pre-eminence which during the *late war* distinguished her as a maritime nation. I therefore most earnestly desire that you will in future dedicate a small portion of your Register to those communications which may be transmitted to you on the present state of the carrying trade of this country, and which, aided by your own experience and knowledge of the subject, may in all probability not only

* See the judgment in *Wilson v. Merry*, Exch. C. May 1799, wherein the late Lord Chief Justice Eyre seems to question the policy of having conceded to America a free trade to India.

and to destroy the injurious system of granting to foreigners all they desire, but to raise the drooping spirits of those persons whose fortunes are embarked in shipping, which I am sorry to observe is too much overlooked and neglected by the persons alluded to, one of whom might naturally have been expected to have had an *militairy* inclination to promote their welfare; for the exertions of his noble father will ever be remembered with gratitude by the ship-owners of Great-Britain.

Alfred.

London, 27th February, 1802.

S E R V A T I O N S O N T H E I M P O R T A N C E O F
A S T R I C T A D H E R E N C E T O T H E N A V I G A T I O N
L A W S O F G R E A T - B R I T A I N . *

It is the fate of Great-Britain, a fate peculiarly her own, to depend upon her navy and her commerce for a continuance of the superiority she enjoys over the other nations of *Europe*. This truth has frequently influenced the deliberations of her legislators from an early period of her history; and to appreciate its influence, we have only to regard the unremitting attention that has been paid to the establishment and security of her *maritime* rights. In the moment their value was felt up to the present hour, an hour in which those rights, as they have derived from various causes unprecedented importance, demand at our hands unprecedented care. This attention to the grand source of our wealth and glory has been rendered worthy the wisdom that bestowed it; it has not appeared in empty eulogiums, it has been embodied and concentrated in statutes enacted by successive Parliaments, and have at length formed themselves into a system of *navigation laws*, which, if its intentions are not counteracted by unforeseen circumstances, must continue to procure, as it has hitherto produced, to this country, an unfailing source of wealth and glory.

In its progress towards its present solidity, for the course of near five centuries, and amidst numberless subordinate regulations, it has been the undeviating aim of

the wise framers of this system, to render the commerce of the country the medium of the *increase* of its *shipping*; and therefore, except where policy or necessity have compelled a contrary conduct, considerations of temporary advantages have sometimes been made to yield to the less dazzling, but more permanent acquisition of *naval power*. To effect this salutary end, the various acts above alluded to have been framed and worded with great consideration and care, for the purpose of confining certain portions of our trade with foreign countries, and the whole of our coasting and plantation trade, to *British-built ships* alone, and to securing to such ships, commanded, and three-fourths manned with *British subjects*, certain advantages, in which the vessels of foreigners could not, and ought not, to participate.

So early as the reign of Richard the Second, at a time when our shipping and commerce were in their infancy, the advantages, not to say the necessity, of such a system, presented themselves so strongly to our ancestors, that in the fifth year of his reign, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which it was ordained, that no merchandise should be shipped into, or out of the realm, but in *British ships*, on pain of forfeiture. This act was recognised, and its provisions enforced, by other Acts of Parliament in after times, during the reigns of Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth; and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an Act of Parliament passed, which, although in words it repealed the statute of Richard the Second, was in the same spirit, and calculated to produce similar effects. But in process of time, and as the country began to discern with more clearness the policy of regulations that naturally tended to awaken the industry, and increase the wealth of its inhabitants, the desire to secure their observance, and extend their influence, became proportionably powerful, till at length, in the year 1651, an act was passed, which expressly prohibited all ships of foreign nations from trading with England, or with any *English plantations*; and no goods were suffered to be imported into *England*, or any of its dependencies, in any other than *English bottoms*, or in the ships of that European nation of which the merchandise imported was the genuine growth or manufacture.

The statute of the 12th Charles II, chap. 18. corroborates, if, after the experience we have had, any thing were wanting to

* These observations appear to us to be well calculated to further the wishes of our correspondent, Alfred. They treat of a subject, which is of the most importance to this country, at all times, but particularly at the present, when our shipping is threatened with a rapid decline.

corroborate, the wisdom of the principle in which the act of 1651, and the preceding Navigation Acts, were founded; for by this act, which was passed soon after the restoration, not only were the provisions of the act of 1651 continued (with some alterations as to the European trade) but a farther provision made, that the master and three-fourths of the mariners should also be *English subjects*, under forfeiture of the ship, and of all goods imported or exported therein.

During the succeeding reigns, up to the time of passing the 26th of his present Majesty, commonly called Lord Liverpool's Act, the spirit of commerce continued to rise, and with it the concomitant conviction, that to continue and secure the advantages granted by preceding statutes to *British-built ships* and their *owners*, in the carrying on the commerce of the country, was the only method by which *Great-Britain* could long remain in the possession of that proud pre-eminence which distinguishes her as a *maritime nation*; the act, therefore, of the seventh and eighth of William the Third, and others that cannot here be particularized, were all in various ways conducive to the confirmation of the *exclusive rights of British owners*, and the *privileges of British-built ships*.

Experience has shewn the correctness and importance of the views of those, who from time to time have supported this *system of navigation laws*, which it is so much the interest of *British owners* to uphold. The act of the 26th of his present Majesty, and many other statutes, clearly demonstrate the anxiety of the country to guard this *system*, by a steady adherence to which we have been enabled, during the most arduous contest in which this country was ever engaged, to triumph over all the naval powers of *Europe*; and to the continuance of which alone we can look for the security and fruits of that triumph. "After this experience," says an able writer on this *system of navigation laws*, "no one can doubt but that it is the *real interest of Great-Britain* to give her principal attention to *maritime affairs*, to carry on her *own trade* in her *own ships* directly to all parts of the world, and to encourage her fisheries in every sea. From these sources she may always hope to obtain a *naval force* adequate to guard her shores from hostile invasion, and to secure her domestic felicity, both public and private, firm and unshaken as the foundations of the island."

On the other hand, should the wisdom and labours of successive ages be rendered unavailing by the blindness and indifference of the present day—should these boasted laws of navigation, framed for the increase and the protection of *British-built ships* and *British owners*, have been enacted in vain—should *strangers* and *foreigners* be permitted to snatch from their hands the privileges which belong, and which have been solemnly assured by the country, to *British owners* alone—it will be a task no less difficult than it will be melancholy to calculate the mischiefs that must ensue to the *maritime* and the *commercial* interest of *Britain*.

It is with the deepest regret the *shipping interest* of this country observe, that the suspension of the navigation laws, during the last two years, has already been attended with serious inconvenience and loss; and they fear the continuance of it, unless those laws are again speedily permitted to have their free and natural operation: and if by *new regulations*, or by any further *relaxation* of the present navigation laws, *new and foreign competitors* should be admitted to share in the advantages resulting from them, they apprehend that the *maritime* spirit of the country will decline—that the capital of *British owners* will lie unemployed, or be employed uselessly—while the *shipping* of *Great-Britain* will lie rotting in her harbours, and her seamen emigrate to foreign countries in search of employment: it is therefore, particularly, at this time, the interest of *Great-Britain*, and the duty of her government, to encourage her *maritime* pursuits. The events of the late war shew that many nations look with a jealous eye on the superiority we have gained by our *carrying trade*, and that they are ready to use every effort to participate in the benefits of our navigation, and to rival us, if possible, on our native element. To counteract these efforts with success, we must not lose the recollection that without an extensive naval commerce, carried on in *British bottoms*, we can neither rear nor retain our seamen, the grand support of our present pre-eminence; nor preserve our country from falling even below the level of surrounding nations.

Impressed with these sentiments, and in order more effectually to protect the *shipping interest* of *Great-Britain*, and to prevent any infringement of the navigation laws as now established, it is most seriously recommended to the *owners of British-built*

to form an *association* * for preserving these rights, which the legislature has, in wisdom, been pleased to confer on us exclusively; a measure which it must be regretted has been so long delayed, although earnestly desired by many owners; it which may yet, if embraced immediately, be the means of securing the privacies and the property of a most numerous and respectable body of *British subjects*—of preventing the undue advantages sought to be acquired by persons to whom the legislature has not intended to grant a benefit—and of keeping intire a body of us peculiarly fitted to support and increase the commerce of the Empire, the neglect of which will, it is to be feared, put it in the power of others not merely to rest from the *owners* of *British-built ships* the best produce of their industry, but to deprive them of the future means of exercising it, by excluding them from being the carriers of *British commerce*.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Although the public is not officially informed of the causes of the protraction of the negotiation at Amiens, yet there is sufficient reason to infer, that it is owing to the intrigues of the French government, which depending on our credulity and forbearance will continue to lure us with their pretended desire of peace 'till they have secured the entire subjection of St. Domingo beyond our power to disturb it, got back into their harbours the fleets which transported their troops thither, as well as the treasures of Spanish America, which have been accumulating during the war from the possibility of their escaping the vigilance of our numerous squadrons whilst in a state of active hostility; besides which it is of the utmost importance to consider, that those fleets will bring our enemies an accession of forty to fifty thousand sailors †, trained for the voyage; they will then throw aside the mask, and with this increase of strength will sinew again play off the farce of invasion, and occasion an alarm the more serious to compel us to preparations for defence

the more burthensome and expensive, as our danger will have become the greater, 'till wasted by exertions our means of repelling the attack may be materially diminished when they find themselves prepared to undertake it; nor will they fail to employ the interval in giving further stability to their administration, and in procuring the co-operating of some new allies, or at least, securing the neutrality of other powers; for surely if by our supineness, our blindness to the present danger, our want of energy, we abandon to our enemies the means of acquiring all these advantages whilst it is in our power to prevent them, none will be so ill advised, so weak, as to seek to be connected with us, on the contrary all will see the danger and shun it.

How precarious our situation will then be is too obvious to need expatiating upon, it must be evident, upon reflection, to the mind of every man, who will not shut his eyes against conviction.

We have then no other means of security but by bringing the negotiation to an immediate issue, insisting by our ultimatum on every advantage, to ourselves and allies, that is not totally inconsistent with the terms of the preliminaries (for these on our part have been liberal in the extreme), peremptorily demand an answer in a very few days, and if that should not be completely satisfactory, recall our minister, declare the negotiation at an end, and recommence the most vigorous and determined hostilities.

The moment now offers of doing this to advantage, whilst our enemies are assailable by having their fleets at sea, and most probably in a defective state, after the sufferings of a long voyage in a tempestuous season, and some stay in an unhealthy climate, but should it be otherwise, the superiority of our men is sufficiently evinced—we have therefore, not only the best reason to be confident of success in our attack, but are free from every alarm of invasion by our enemies having neither ships nor seamen in their ports.

Yours, &c.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Berne, Feb. 5.—It is certain that Citizen Diesback's journey to Vienna is not on account of any commission from government, but on account of the sums of money lodged by the former nobility of Berne, in

* Since these observations were first published an association has been entered into by some respectable ship-owners in London and at some of the ports.

† This will hardly be beyond the mark if we judge the accession they will obtain by the naturalization of American ships, &c.

the bank of Vienna. The Ex-noble Freudentreich is on his way to London, about the same business. The third Helvetic Auxiliary brigade has embarked at Toulon for Corsica.

Vienna, Feb. 10.—His Imperial Majesty has appointed Baron Felz his ambassador to the Batavian Republic.

Paswan Oglou has sent three commissioners to Constantinople, to conclude a pacification with the Porte.

Six thousand Turkish troops have arrived in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. While Paswan Oglou treats with the Porte, he is at the same time continually strengthening his powers of resistance.

Feb. 11.—Her Majesty the Queen of Naples intends to return to Palermo next May, and the Empress will accompany her, if circumstances will permit.

Hague, Feb. 13.—The Dutch garrison at the Cape of Good Hope will, for the future, consist of a corps of Wurtemburg troops, half a brigade of infantry, along with a regiment of cavalry to be raised in our republic.

Copenhagen, Feb. 13.—Last night our Hereditary Princess was delivered of a daughter; and this happy event was this morning announced by a discharge of artillery.

Hanau, Feb. 13.—The sequestration is taken off from all the Hessian private property on the left bank of the Rhine.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Portsmouth, March 3.—Yesterday arrived the Camilla, of 38 guns, Capt. Brace, from Marcou. Dropped down to St. Helen's the Ramilies.—Fresh orders of an important complexion, at a crisis when the country at large are cherishing the hopes of a happy return of peace, were this morning received at this port. The immediate fitting out and victualling the whole of the men of war capable of being sent to sea, frigates and sloops included, in all about thirty sail, are the orders which have been sent to the Dock-yard, Victualling-office, &c. From the hurry and bustle which the execution of the orders have occasioned, it is conjectured that government must be in possession of some very important information.

In consequence of an express which reached Torbay on Monday evening, Admiral Cornwallis ordered the Edgar, Excellent, Magnificent, Bellerophon, Robust, and Audacious, all of 74 guns, to be vi-

tualled and stored for five months, and to proceed immediately to sea. The dispatch used on the occasion was so great, that the ships received their provisions and stores in less than twenty-four hours, and sailed from Torbay the following afternoon. Their destination was unknown, but there is little doubt that they have sailed upon foreign service.

Dates for the holding of the Lent Assizes.

MIDLAND CIRCUIT.

<i>Lord Chief Baron and Baron Graham.</i>		
Northampton	Monday,	March 1.
Oakham	Friday,	Ditto 5.
Lincoln and City	Saturday,	Ditto 6.
Nottingham and Town ..	Thursday,	Ditto 11.
Derby	Saturday,	Ditto 13.
Leicester and Borough ..	Thursday,	Ditto 19.
Coventry and Warwick ..	Tuesday,	Ditto 23.

OXFORD.

<i>Baron Thompson and Justice Chambre.</i>		
Reading	Monday,	March 1.
Oxford	Wednesday,	Ditto
Worcester and City	Saturday,	Ditto
Gloucester and City	Wednesday,	Ditto 10.
Monmouth	Saturday,	Ditto 13.
Hereford	Tuesday,	Ditto 16.
Shrewsbury	Saturday,	Ditto 20.
Stafford	Thursday,	Ditto 23.

NORTHERN.

<i>Lord Kenyon and Justice Rooke.</i>		
York and City	Saturday,	March 6.
Lancaster	Saturday,	Ditto 20.

NORFOLK.

<i>Lord Albany and Justice Grose.</i>		
Aylesbury	Saturday,	March 6.
Bedford	Thursday,	Ditto 11.
Huntingdon	Saturday,	Ditto 13.
Cambridge	Wednesday,	Ditto 17.
Thetford	Saturday,	Ditto 20.
Bury St. Edmunds	Thursday,	Ditto 25.

WESTERN.

<i>Justice Lawrence and Justice Le Blanc.</i>		
Winchester	Tuesday,	March 9.
Sarum	Saturday,	Ditto 13.
Dorchester	Thursday,	Ditto 15.
Exeter and City	Monday,	Ditto 22.
Launceston	Saturday,	Ditto 27.
Taunton	Thursday, April 1,	at Taunton

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

During the former part of last week, the attention of Parliament was not called to any subject of high national importance. The absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the House of Commons, was continued by the illness of his daughter, and the second reading of the American Treaty Bill was, in consequence, postponed.

In the House of Peers (Feb. 26), Lord Moira enquired of the Secretary of State, if the attention of his Majesty's ministers had been directed to the affair of the Na-

of Arcot; and how far the proceeding which he alluded, might be considered an infraction of treaties now existing? this it was replied, by the noble Secretary, that government certainly meant to bring the matter forward; and that it would be a subject of serious discussion whether those treaties had or had not been violated.

A discussion of some length took place the same day, on the petition of George Hoare, Esq. for leave to be heard by counsel in favour of a bill to dissolve his marriage with Elizabeth Cooke, his present wife. The petition was opposed by the Bishop of Rochester, by the Lord Chancellor, and by Lords Alvanley and Thurlow. The motion for rejecting it was made by the Bishop of Rochester. It was urged against the petition, that it came before the House without having in its favour any of the circumstances usually attending such an application. To preserve the purity of their lordship's proceedings, two points had always been required of the petitioners in cases of divorce. These were, a favourable verdict in the courts, and the production of evidence at the bar of the Lords. With neither of these had the petitioner complied; no verdicts unfavourable to him had been given in Westminster Hall, and, an insinuation seemed to be made, in his petition, against the propriety of producing evidence. Sufficient time had been afforded for bringing forward such evidence as was demanded by the House, but of this no use whatever had been made. The petitioner had failed to be heard by his counsel; a mode of proceeding which was liable to many objections. Bills of divorce were, in themselves, partial interpositions beyond the general laws of the country, and ought not to be lightly granted. Under the circumstances of this case, to allow the bringing such a bill, as was the object of the petition, would, it was argued, be every way dangerous. The least of its evils would be to hold up the House as a reviewer of the proceedings in the courts of law. It would be to any female, however reprehensible, a power of removing from one family to another, in the sacred character of a wife. A bill of this kind a precedent would establish, subversive of the laws of divorce, and ultimately fatal to the morals of the country. For these reasons, and as a consideration of individual hardship might to have any weight in competition with the general happiness and virtue of the people, the noble lords considered it as

a duty to themselves and to the public to resist the prayer of the petition.

In favour of Mr. Hoare a few words were said by the Duke of Clarence and Lord Bolton. The latter, from personal knowledge, assured the House, that Mr. Hoare was rather an object of pity than animadversion. If he had erred in the mode of his application, it was with the best intentions. The interests of morality, however, he was well aware had, in all cases, a superior claim to consideration. The motion for rejecting the petition was then put and carried.

It has been already stated that, during the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, little business of importance was brought before either House. In the lower House (Feb. 25), Mr. Tierney presented a petition from the German Jews resident in London, stating that, from the circumstances of their religion, they were precluded from receiving the benefit of hospitals and work-houses, and, therefore, praying an act to enable them to raise a fund for the relief of their sick and indigent. He moved that it should lie on the table, which was ordered.

Mr. Wilberforce also presented a petition from Dr. Carmichael Smith as a discoverer of a specific against contagious fever, and Mr. Burdon another from the inventor of a life-boat, stating their claims to public compensation. They were referred to a committee.

The next day petitions were received and referred to committees, praying that bills might be brought in for building bridges over the Conway and Menai, in order to facilitate the communication between Great-Britain and Ireland. Another from the coroners of several counties, for an increase of their allowance, was ordered to lie on the table.

On the 1st of March, Mr. Sheridan gave notice of a motion which he intended to make on the affairs of the Carnatic. The hon. gentleman, at the same time, expressed his determination not to go any further into the subject, until the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to attend his duty in the House.

On the following day, the estimates of the army service were presented to the House, by the Secretary at War, and ordered to lie on the table.

The House having resolved itself into a committee on the Debtor's Act, a debate took place on a clause proposed by Mr. W. Wyne. The intention of this clause was

to allow the debtor to apply to the Court of Chancery for protection, whenever the sale of his estate, for the payment of his debts could only be made upon disadvantageous terms. *Mr. Nicolls*, though adverse to the principle of the bill, as being an extension of the bankrupt laws, supported the proposition of *Mr. Wynne*. If the laws of bankruptcy were to be extended to men of landed property, it ought, in his opinion, to be done fairly and openly, and Peers and members of Parliament should not be exempted from their operation. *Mr. Wynne* denied that the present bill was of the nature it had been described. It was, in fact, merely enlarging the powers of an existing law. After some observations from *Mr. Nicolls* and *Mr. Baxtor* the clause was agreed to. A new one was then proposed by *Mr. Baxtor* for subjecting Peers and members of Parliament to the provisions of the act, in the same manner as other persons of landed property. This was warmly opposed by the *Attorney-General*, as a more heavy grievance than that which it professed to remedy. It did not, he contended, in any manner grow out of the bill now before the House, and ought to be a matter of separate discussion. The *Master of the Roll* dissented from it, on nearly the same grounds. After some further observations in defence of the clause from *Mr. Burton* and *Mr. Nicolls*, the committee divided; but, there not being forty members present, the House adjourned till Wednesday.

On the 3d of March, after having forwarded some bills of no particular importance, the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply. The *Secretary at War* then stated, that the estimates which had been referred to the Committee, and on which he meant to move some resolutions, were for sixty-one days. They were, though not for the whole, for the most important part of the service, and were calculated on the scale of last year. The total number of men was something above 200,000, and the expense for two months would be £1,270,005. He then moved the first resolution, that a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 61,176 men, be employed in Great-Britain, &c. &c. from the 25th of March to the 24th of May next. *Mr. Elliot* then rose, and in a speech of considerable length, and great ability, stated the necessity of a powerful force, and the grounds of alarm which might justly be entertained from the manifest fraud and ambition of France. It had, he said, always been the

well-founded policy of this country, while regulating the proportion of her forces, to keep in view the objects and dispositions of the surrounding states; and on this principle, the propriety of which must be felt by every one, he heartily concurred in voting for the force now proposed. The greatest vigilance and precaution were indeed necessary. Submitting, with becoming deference, to the decision of the House, on the preliminary articles, he had no hesitation in declaring, that his conviction of their fatal effects, so far from being removed, was confirmed by every day's experience. The hand that signed those articles had signed the humiliation, the disgrace, and the decline of this country. The House, however, was not bound by its former opinion on them, if the circumstances which led to that opinion no longer existed. Since the signing of those Preliminaries, we have seen Buonaparté, without deigning to notify the event to any power in Europe, confer on himself the government of the Italian Republic, and parcel the country out into cantonments for his armies; the whole island of Elba ^{*} restored, as we supposed, to Tuscany, by the Preliminaries, had been delivered to France; and on the banks of the Mississippi, she had got possession of a large and important territory, by which, to say nothing of other considerations, the value of her West-India colonies was considerably augmented. Were ministers acquainted, or not, with the last two points, at the time they treated? If they were not, they had been guilty of negligence; if they were, they had suffered the country to be treated with unpardonable indignity. He believed, however, that they were not known to them. In addition to these alarming circumstances, another no less alarming

* In the Treaty of Luneville, Art. V. dated Feb. 9, 1801. (See Register, p. 22), France stipulates with the Emperor, that the Island of Elba shall be ceded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Infant Duke of Parma, now King of Etruria. In her Treaty with Spain, formed on the 21st of March, 1801, Art. IV. (See Register, p. 52), France transfers the Island of Elba from the Infant Duke of Parma to herself. This last Treaty she keeps secret, 'till after she has formed a Preliminary Treaty with us, and in that Treaty (See Register, p. 162), France obtains the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo, which is the capital of the island, and the only place we occupied on it. Thus by these three treaties (each of them, as far as relates to France, a violation of the other two), by this triple fraud, she obtains quiet possession of a most important post in the Mediterranean, which we thought we were giving up to the King of Etruria, instead of the Republic of France! And yet we are told, that there is no reason to suspect her sincerity!!!

taken place. From the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, a formidable fleet had sailed to the West-Indies, for which France had assigned to this country a specific object. Against what power, then, that of England, could such a naval force be meant to contend? France, it must be answered, had no transports to convey her troops; but this answer had little weight with him, as she had the means of procuring them. By the conduct of France, we were at this moment in a situation equally deprived of the advantages of war, or the blessings of peace. For these reasons, he approved of keeping up a powerful force, and hoped that the interests and dignity of the country would be maintained with firmness and vigour. He was followed by *Lord Hawkesbury*, who, setting aside the topics urged by Mr. Elliot, as not being a proper subject of debate on the present occasion, confined himself chiefly to a defence of the ministry against any charge of procrastinating the Definitive Treaty. The inconveniences of a negotiation, even though protracted not longer than the present, he was willing to allow, were very great. This treaty, however, had not been so long under discussion as the former ones. As to the Preliminaries, he would say with the greatest sincerity, that whatever the result of that event might be, he should never regret the share he had in that transaction. The experiment of peace was at least as wise as the experiment of war." *Mr. Windham*, in a speech of some length, contended that a change had taken place in the relative situation of the two countries, as was very unfavourable to Great-Britain. The articles of the Preliminary Articles had been violated by the fraudulent practices of France, and could not now be acted upon by his country without dishonour. The real purpose of France was, to destroy the commerce of this country, to subvert its greatness, and to grasp at universal empire.

No independent continental powers remained but Austria and Russia. The favour which would be granted to Great-Britain would be, that of being last secured. *Mr. Baker*, in a short speech adverted on the state of the country, in which it was difficult to decide whether for peace or war. Though never perfectly satisfied with the Preliminary Articles, he had conceived it the duty of Great-Britain to abide by them. The duty, however, was equally obligatory on France. A great

responsibility rested on ministers, and their conduct must be explained, when the time arrived for that purpose; at present he would not call upon them for any disclosure. *Lord Castlereagh* next rose to defend the conduct of ministers. With regard to the negotiation, he said, it ought to be inculcated to the public, that too sanguine expectations should not be entertained of its success. Of success, calm and rational hopes ought to be formed; but disappointment should also be prepared for with firmness and manliness. Much had been urged, he observed, on the subject of the French armament to the West-Indies, but he thought that true policy had been shewn by ministers in permitting it to sail. Assuming the hostility of St. Domingo, he argued that the troops sent out by France was not more than sufficient for its conquest: but, even if the island were not in a state of rebellion, they were only sufficient to garrison it. He would not say that events might not arise from this expedition injurious to Great-Britain, but there certainly appeared no reasons for alarm. That the fleets of France were despatched to the West-Indies, was to him rather a subject of exultation than of fear, as in the event of a rupture they would be within the reach of a British naval force. He concluded, by hoping that the public mind would neither rise into confident expectation, nor sink into despondency. *Dr. Lawrence*, in a long and able speech, went into the question. The Noble Lord who spoke second in the debate had, he said, replied to his Hon. friend (Mr. Elliot) as though a complaint had been made of tardiness in the negotiation. No such complaint had been made. The delay was rather a subject of congratulation, as it proved that every thing was not immediately abandoned; that some regard was still shewn to the interest of the country. Such delay was no small advantage. No delay would, he hoped, be thought too great, that was necessary for the preservation of our national interest. Former treaties had been alluded to, but the present treaty had no resemblance to any former one. It was not founded upon precedent. Every thing was new. With respect to the Noble Lord who spoke last, he seemed to be a political optimist. Whether the French fleet was confined in Brest Harbour, or at liberty in the West-Indies, all was for the best. In the one case, they were in no condition to do us injury; in

the other, they were open to the attacks of our force. This latter was a kind of consolation which he could not bring himself to receive. The noble lord had forgotten how productive of evil, the operations of such a force might be, before any effectual resistance could be opposed to them. If the sailing of the French fleet from their ports was so desirable an object, why had the system of blockade been so rigidly pursued, and why had it so often received from the House the most unbounded commendation? The colossal power of France in the other hemisphere, no less than in this, was truly formidable. With one foot on the river of Amazons, and the other on the Mississippi, she menaced all the possessions of Great-Britain in that part of the globe. Her cunning was no less formidable than her power. Every thing done on her part displayed the marks of fraud. The island of Elba and Louisiana were confirmations of this. Another might be found in that republic which, with a prospective view to future dominion, was called the Italian. In conclusion, he expressed his persuasion that it would be productive of the best effects to vote the supplies for a longer period than was required by the motion; a measure which might be adopted without adding in any manner to the burthens of the country. The *Attorney-General*, in reply, recommended a continuance of that system of management which had hitherto been pursued by ministers. Allowing that the French fleet having sailed to the West-Indies might be accompanied with some evils, he thought, under the present circumstances, it was more advantageous for us, that it should be there than in its own ports. All that could be done for a country by the integrity, political knowledge, zeal and perseverance of its ministers, would, he was convinced, be done by ours. After a few words, in explanation, from *Mr. Elliot*, the question was put and carried. The House then resolved itself into a committee of supply, when a motion made by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* that a supply of one million to be raised on Exchequer Bills should be granted to his Majesty, was put and carried.

[The debate of Thursday will be given in our next week's paper.]

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

As a strong mark of the frivolity and blindness of the Ante-deluvians, we are

told, in *Holy Writ*, "that they ate, they drank, they married wives, and were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the Ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all; so, at the present time, ninety-nine hundredths of the people of this infatuated city appear to be totally occupied in discussing the rival pretensions of private and public theatres, in deciding upon a choice of amusements, at the very moment when themselves and their children are threatened with the overwhelming domination of France; a chastisement not much less tremendous than that which was inflicted on the thoughtless and degenerate contemporaries of Noah. There is a time for all things; and, whichever way we turn our eyes, whether to the east or the west of our Island, whether we contemplate the state of our foreign or domestic concerns, every thing we see or hear tells us that this is the time to be serious.

It is stated, upon the authority of some one, who is said to have arrived at Falmouth, from Boston, that Toussaint has been burnt alive by the Blacks of St Domingo, who perceived his design to give the Island up to France. This is possible; but, when we observe, that the news comes from that part of the United States which is most distant from St Domingo, while vessels arriving from Charleston and Norfolk bring no such intelligence; when we consider the extent of Toussaint's power, and the number and quality of his adherents, together with the disarmed and divided state of those, who are reported to have effected his death, we confess that we can give but little credit to the report. Should it however, prove true, very little impediment will arise therefrom to the restoration of the colonial system. If Toussaint lives he is for France; if he is dead, the Blacks are without a chief of talents and influence sufficient to render them formidable to the armament of Buonaparté.

It is stated in the French papers, that the Prince of Orange has arrived at Paris to solicit from the Chief Consul permission to enjoy his private property in Germany. This circumstance fully proves how completely that prince has been abandoned by the powers of Europe, and it also proves, that Buonaparté is the absolute master of the Empire and of its princes, who hold nothing, not even their lives, but by his consent. The nations of the earth are crouching down

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him like chickens at the approach of the vulture. The only check to his ambition and rapacity seems to exist in France itself, where he and his comrades are certainly not popular. His journeys, and his proceedings there, have created much discontent amongst the people of France, who perceive in those daring projects of aggrandizement the seeds of new wars and new miseries, fresh insurrections in the interior of France, and

pretexts for the exercise of that terrible tyranny, on which the existence of the Republic essentially depends. The government is by no means ignorant of the faction, which prevails; but, in order to prevent its effects, great care is taken to stifle the voice of all those, who, by

disposition and their talents, are likely to become formidable to the Consul and his associates. Since the journey to Paris, more than sixty persons have been tried and imprisoned, charged with no crime than that of disliking the government and detesting those by whom it is administered. While these acts of cruelty have been practised at Paris, acts, of a nature more cruel, have been committed in the departments, and that upon persons, whose fate will excite the passion in every honest and loyal subject: we allude to the royalists of La Réunion, many of whom have lately fallen a sacrifice to the ferocity of their persecutors.

Not a word of these things do we hear through the channel of the French press, which is in that state of abject subjection, which Buonaparté would wish to reduce to the rest of this country. The press of Great Britain and that of America are, indeed, the last refuge of the liberties of the world; and, we may be well assured, that no exertion of stratagem or force will be spared to stifle their voices. In America, the accomplishment of this object will be very difficult, however humiliating the acknowledgment.

We sincerely believe, that the difficulty will be less in this kingdom, a circumstance in which we are persuaded our friends will participate, when they observe the language of those English prints, which are under the influence of the government, and when they are informed, that the government, with respect to Buonaparté, has, by authority, already imposed on the *Journal de Peltier*. To suppose that the liberty of the British press is, at last,

to be destroyed by the person whom Lord Hawkesbury so lately styled a "Corsican adventurer;" to suppose, that we are no longer to find protection in those courts, which have ever been the safeguard of ourselves, and the admiration of the world; to suppose these things possible is, in some sort, to renounce one's nature; but, so humble, so base are we become, and such is our propensity to sink, that it is beyond the powers of the mind to conceive the depth of degradation to which we shall finally descend.

During the last week, indeed, some faint gleamings of national spirit have appeared: the advocates for the peace have begun to talk of resistance, if it should be found necessary; they have begun to acknowledge, that it is better to fight a little longer than instantly to die; nay, in some instances, they have actually, though with quivering lips, pronounced the tremendous monosyllable *war*; but Buonaparté is too profound a politician to be influenced by these feeble exertions of expiring hope, in which he will perceive nothing but an increasing dread of the failure of the Definitive Treaty. If, however, he should be deceived; if he should mistake these momentary vapours for the rekindling of the national spirit, he may probably, be induced to hasten the conclusion of the Treaty, more especially as he well knows, that neither that Treaty nor any other, which he has formed, or may form, will operate as a bar to his ulterior projects, any more than the Treaty of Luneville has so operated with respect to the island of Elba.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guildford, in Surrey, in the Month of February,
and Three first Days of March, 1802.

(Morning, 9 o'Clock—Afternoon, 2 o'Clock.)

Days.	W.	Weather.	Winds.		Barometer.		Thermometer.	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
25	D	Rai. Wind	N	NE	29.3	29.7	37	44
26		Fros. Fine	NE	N-W	30	30	38	44
27		Fros. Fine	SW	SW	29.9	29.83	39	47
28		Fair.	W	W	29.7	29.65	42	48
1		Fair.	S	S	29.5	29.4	39	53
2		Rain. Fair	S	S	29.35	29.3	42	50
3		Fair.	S	SW	29.4	29.45	43	45

STATEMENT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH NAVAL FORCE TO THE FIRST OF MARCH, 1802.

(Exclusive of the HIRED ARMED VESSELS.)

	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting	20	2	46	81	149
Guard-ships	4	1	2	0	7
In the English and Irish Channels	26	0	27	36	89
On the Downs and North Sea stations	12	4	11	32	59
On the Baltic Service	0	0	0	0	0
At the West-India Islands, and on the passage thither	23	1	39	46	78
American and Newfoundland stations	0	0	2	5	7
C. of G. Hope, E. Indies, and on the passage	8	6	14	18	46
Africa and Madeira	0	0	1	3	4
On the Lisbon Station	0	0	0	0	0
Spain and Portugal without the Straits	7	0	2	1	10
In the Mediterranean	16	3	46	34	99
Hospital and Prison Ships	17	3	8	0	28
Total in Commission	183	20	197	256	606
Receiving Ships	4	0	2	1	7
Serviceable and repairing for Service	13	0	2	0	15
In ordinary	26	5	39	70	140
Building	22	2	5	0	29
Total	198	27	245	327	797
Ships in Ordinary	143	51	431	711	162

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, MARCH 1, 1802.

	Regulars.					
	Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Militia	Tot. Ba.	Inv. Co.
England and Wales	25	19	275	131	40	
North Britain	2	—	5	11	18	6
Ireland	7	15	28	—	6	20
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	—	4	2	—	6	20
Gibraltar	—	7	4	—	11	—
Minorca and Malta	—	11	—	—	11	—
Egypt and on the passage from it	1	16	1	—	18	—
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.	—	5	2	—	7	—
West-Indies	1	36	—	37	—	—
Cape of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	1	7	—	8	—	—
East-Indies, and on the passage thither	4	19	—	23	—	—
Total	41	149	44	86	320	72

* Including the Ross and Comarty.

† The Company's troops exclusive.

‡ Exclusive of artillery and engineers, at home and abroad, independent companies, recruiting parties, and volunteers.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.
At the Court of St. James's, the 24th of February, 1802, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. His Majesty having been pleased to appoint

Henry Bentinck, Esq. Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Island of St. Vincent, Bequia and such other of the islands commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of the Island of Curracoa, in America, he, this day, took the oaths appointed to be taken by the Governors of His Majesty's Plantations.

At the Court at the Queen's House, the 25th February, 1802, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, was this day pleased to appoint as Sheriff,

Devon.—Sir John Davie, of Creedy, Batt. Whitehall, Feb. 17, 1802.

The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Viscount of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland unto the Right Hon. Asheton Baron Curzon, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully gotten, by the name, stile, and title of Viscount Curzon, of Penn, in the county of Buckingham.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 12th ult. the Consort of the Hereditary Prince of Denmark of a Princess.

Marriages.—Lately, the Earl of Charlemont to Mrs. Birmingham.—On the 26th ult. at Bath, Major Thos. Alcock, to the Hon. Miss Caroline Sentleger, sister to Lord Viscount Doneraile.

Deaths.—Lately, near Southampton, the 2d son of Joseph Sydney Yorke, Esq. M. P. and Capt. of Canada.—Lately, Benjamin Lester, Esq. and Alman, and formerly one of the Representatives of Parliament for the town and county of Pool.—Morgan Crofton, of Mohill, Leitrim, Bart.—Monday the 22d ult. at Blashford, near Ringwood, Herts, in the 60th year of his age, Sir John Hatton, Bart.—Lately, Miss Isabella Pilkington, daughter of Sir Thomas Pilkington, Bart. of Chevitt, near Walsall.—On Sunday, Mr. Jolliffe, M. P. for Peterborough.—On Tuesday forenoon, his Grace the Duke of Bedford.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	69 $\frac{1}{4}$	Wednesday	69 $\frac{1}{4}$
Monday	68 $\frac{1}{4}$	Thursday	68 $\frac{1}{4}$
Tuesday	68 $\frac{1}{4}$	Friday	67 $\frac{1}{4}$

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight per cent. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolide, 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		
Eng. Wheat per q.	65	79	Hops per cwt...	70 $\frac{1}{2}$
Foreign	44	78	Hay per load . . .	73 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rye	35	43	Beef, per stone . . .	45 $\frac{1}{2}$
Barley	35	45	6s. od.	
Malt	45	55	Mutton	5s. 6d. to 6s.
Oats	16	25	Veal	6s. 6d. to 7s.
Pease	35	40	Pork	6s. 10d. to 8s.
Beans	30	45	Tallow	4s.
Flour per sack	55	60	Average of Sugar	
Seconds	45	52	Second	40s.
Coals per chal	34	41	Bread 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the quart.	

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